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Department of State

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FROM: LONDON

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 6123, MAY 9, 10 P.M.

PRIORITY

USDEL DISARMAMENT NO. 198

PART II OF THREE PARTS

FURTHER RESPONDING TO THE REQUEST OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, CHAIRMAN USDEL FORWARDS PART II OF AN APPRAISAL IN CONCRETE TERMS OF THE INSEPARABLE ELEMENTS OF A PARTIAL AGREEMENT FOR FIRST STEPS WHICH WE ESTIMATE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO FRANCE AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, OTHER STATES WITH A SIGNIFICANT NUCLEAR MILITARY POTENTIAL, THE USSR, AND THE UK, AND WHICH WILL ADVANCE THE PRIORITY US OBJECTIVES AS STATED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

13. UPON THE COMPLETION OF SUCH INITIAL YEAR REDUCTIONS EACH STATE WOULD FILE A CERTIFICATE THAT IT HAD CARRIED OUT THE REDUCTION, AND MOBILE INSPECTION TEAMS WOULD THEN HAVE ACCESS TO THE OBJECTS OF CONTROL IN ALL AREAS OF THE SIGNATOR STATES TO VERIFY THE FULFILLMENT OF THE REDUCTIONS.

14. UPON THE INITIATION OF THE AERIAL INSPECTION AND THE INSTALLATION OF THE SOUND INSPECTOR POSTS IN THE AREAS INDICATED IN PART I, (ESTIMATED SEPTEMBER 1958) (AND THE COMMITMENT OF THE USSR TO THE OTHER INSEPARABLE PROVISIONS OF THIS REPORT) ALL STATES INVOLVED WOULD BE PROHIBITED FROM MAINTAINING OR STATIONING NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THAT PART OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THAT PART OF EUROPE INCLUDED WITHIN THE RUSSIAN-EUROPEAN AERIAL INSPECTION ZONE.

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15. DURING THE YEAR OF FULFILLMENT OF THE REDUCTION OF WORLDWIDE LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE U.S. BY 15 PERCENT FOR ARMAMENTS AND TO THE FORCE LEVEL OF 2.5 MILLION, (ESTIMATED AS JULY 1958 TO JULY 1959) BOTH WOULD ALSO REDUCE THE ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES WHICH THEY HAD LOCATED IN THE RUSSIAN AND EUROPEAN AERIAL INSPECTION ZONE BY 20 PERCENT.

16. AT THE END OF THE FIRST YEAR'S REDUCTION IN ARMAMENTS, ARMED FORCES, AND MILITARY EXPENDITURES (ESTIMATED AS JULY 1959) PROGRESSIVELY EXPAND THE AERIAL INSPECTION SYSTEM, BEYOND THE ORIGINAL TWO ZONES, INTO A SERIES OF ADDITIONAL ZONES CULMINATING IN THE COMPLETE COVERAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND (IF THE POLITICAL SITUATION PERMITS) CHINA, AND, RECIPROCALLY OF THE FREE WORLD AREAS INCLUDING THE US AND THE UK. THE GROUND CONTROL POSTS TO ALSO BE PROGRESSIVELY EXPANDED AND INCREASED TO COMPLETE EFFECTIVE COVERAGE.

17. DURING THE YEAR OF FULFILLMENT OF THE REDUCTION OF WORLD WIDE LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US BY 15 PERCENT FOR DESIGNATED ARMAMENTS AND TO THE LEVEL OF TWO AND ONE-HALF MILLION FOR FORCES, INCLUDING THE PARALLEL 20 PERCENT REDUCTION OF THE ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES WHICH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US HAD LOCATED IN THE RUSSIAN AND EUROPEAN AERIAL INSPECTION ZONE, MAKE AN AGREED REDUCTION IN AIR BASES ON BOTH SIDES WITHIN THE RUSSIAN-EUROPEAN AERIAL INSPECTION ZONE OF A MAGNITUDE OF APPROXIMATELY 10 PERCENT.

18. UPON THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THE PARTIAL AGREEMENT TREATY (ESTIMATED AS JULY 1958) ALL SIGNATORS WOULD BE COMMITTED TO A TEMPORARY SUSPENSION FOR 12 MONTHS OF ALL NUCLEAR TESTS AND DURING SUCH 12 MONTHS TO COOPERATE IN THE DESIGN OF AN AGREED INSPECTION SYSTEM WHICH WOULD SUPPORT THE NUCLEAR MATERIALS CUT-OFF COMMITMENT, AND WHICH WOULD ALSO VERIFY EITHER AN AGREEMENT FOR LIMITATION ON THE AMOUNT OF FISSIONABLE MATERIAL RELEASED PER YEAR INTO THE ATMOSPHERE BY THE THREE IN FUTURE

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TESTS, OR TO VERIFY A CONTINUED LIMITED SUSPENSION OF TESTS. THE AGREEMENT TO BE SO DRAWN THAT A FAILURE TO AGREE UPON AND TO INSTALL THE INSPECTION SYSTEM INVOLVED FOR THESE TWO COMMITMENTS OR THE FAILURE TO AGREE ON EITHER A LIMITATION OF TESTS OR FURTHER SUSPENSION OF TESTS BEYOND THE 12 MONTHS WOULD AUTOMATICALLY RESULT IN NO (RPT NO) LEGAL COMMITMENTS AGAINST TESTS AFTER THE 12 MONTHS.

19. IF THE FIRST YEAR'S REDUCTIONS IN ARMAMENTS, ARMED FORCES AND MILITARY EXPENDITURES ARE VERIFIED TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS (INCLUDING THE US) OF THE ARMAMENT REGULATION BOARD OF CONTROL, THEN, AND ONLY THEN, (ESTIMATED AS JULY 1959 OR LATER), A SECOND REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES AND MILITARY EXPENDITURES OF THE USSR AND THE US TO BE ARRANGED, BUT ONLY WITH THE US CONSENT, AND NOT, IN ANY EVENT, GOING BELOW A FORCE LEVEL OF 2 MILLION, AND TO BE FURTHER CONDITIONED UPON THE ASSURANCE OF APPLICATION OF THE TREATY AND THE INSPECTION SYSTEM TO ALL ESSENTIAL, SIGNIFICANT MILITARY STATES AND AREAS, AND THEREFORE THE REQUIRING PRIOR SOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN A MANNER SATISFACTORY TO THE US IN- SO FAR AS THEY APPLY TO THIS SUBJECT.

20. DURING THE PERIOD OF FULFILLMENT OF THE REDUCTION OF LEVELS OF DESIGNATED ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US ON THE BASIS OF MEASUREMENT TO A LEVEL OF 2 MILLION (ESTIMATED AS JULY 1959 TO JULY 1961), BOTH WOULD ALSO REDUCE THE ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES WHICH THEY HAD LOCATED IN THE RUSSIAN AND EUROPEAN AERIAL INSPECTION ZONE BY AN ADDITIONAL 20 PERCENT.

21. UPON THE FULFILLMENT OF SUCH SECOND REDUCTIONS AND THE VERIFIED CERTIFICATION THAT THEY HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT, INCLUDING THE SECOND REDUCTIONS OF SPECIFIED OTHER MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT STATES WHO MUST AS A PREREQUISITE HAVE COMPLIED, AND THE PARTIAL POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS NECESSARY THERETO HAVING BEEN REACHED, THE ARMAMENTS REGULATION ORGANIZATION TO CONSIDER, BUT ONLY WITH THE

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CONSENT OF THE US, FURTHER REDUCTIONS, AND NOT, IN ANY EVENT, TO CONSIDER FURTHER REDUCTIONS TO ANY LEVELS LOWER THAN 1.5 MILLION FOR THE SOVIET UNION AND 1.5 MILLION FOR THE US UNLESS AND UNTIL A SUPPLEMENTARY TREATY IS NEGOTIATED AND RATIFIED BY THE USUAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES.

IN THE EVENT FURTHER REDUCTIONS OF LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES ARE CARRIED OUT BEYOND THE 2 MILLION LEVEL, DURING THE FULFILLMENT OF SUCH REDUCTIONS, BOTH THE USSR AND THE US WOULD FURTHER MAKE PARALLEL INCLUSIVE REDUCTIONS OF THE ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES WHICH THEY HAD LOCATED IN THE RUSSIAN AND EUROPEAN AERIAL INSPECTION ZONE, BUT NOT IN ANY EVENT UNDER THE TERMS OF THE TREATY, BY MORE THAN 20 PERCENT. (EVEN IN THESE ULTIMATE CIRCUMSTANCES AT LEAST 40 PERCENT OF US FORCES WOULD REMAIN IN THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE RUSSIAN AND EUROPEAN ZONE INCLUDING GERMANY, INSOFAR AS THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE CONCERNED).

23. THE SIGNATORS AGREE THAT WITHIN 3 MONTHS AFTER THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THE TREATY (ESTIMATED TO BE OCTOBER 1958) THEY WILL COOPERATE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TECHNICAL COMMITTEE TO DESIGN INSPECTION CONTROLS (AND UPON REACHING AN AGREED DEFINITION, TO INSTALL THEM) TO FULFILL A COMMITMENT THAT SENDING OBJECTS THROUGH OUTER SPACE AND SENDING UNMANNED OBJECTS OVER DISTANCES IN EXCESS OF MEDIUM RANGE AT ANY ALTITUDE, SHALL BE EXCLUSIVELY FOR PEACEFUL AND SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES; AND FURTHER DESIGNED TO VERIFY AND INSURE COMPLIANCE WITH A COMMITMENT NOT TO BUILD OR TO INSTALL INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC OR GUIDED MISSILES OR ROCKETS.

24. THE ARMAMENTS REGULATION ORGANIZATION ADMINISTERING THE SYSTEM TO BE ESTABLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 26 OF THE UN CHARTER WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND TO OPERATE THROUGH AN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OR BOARD OF CONTROL WHICH THE AFFIRMATIVE VOTE OF THE US AND OF THE SOVIET UNION IS ESSENTIAL FOR SIGNIFICANT DECISIONS.

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25. SUCH BOARD OF CONTROL TO HAVE AUTHORITY TO ESTABLISH A SYSTEM FOR THE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION BY SIGNATORS OF ANY INTENDED MAJOR MOVEMENT OF ARMED FORCES OVER FOREIGN SOIL OR OVER INTERNATIONAL WATERS OR THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AIR SPACE AS A PART OF THE SYSTEM OF PROTECTION AGAINST GREAT SURPRISE ATTACK.

26. THE PERTINENT DETAILS FOR THE EVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE AND SOUND INSPECTION SYSTEM ARE TO BE WORKED OUT IN KEEPING WITH THE FOREGOING OUTLINE AND CONSISTENT WITH THE STUDIES OF THE EIGHT US PRESIDENTIAL TASK GROUPS CHAIRMANNED BY GEN. BEDELL SMITH, GEN. JAMES DOOLITTLE, AND DR. ERNEST LAWRENCE AND OTHERS.

27. AUTHORIZE THE ARMAMENTS REGULATION ORGANIZATION THROUGH ITS BOARD OF CONTROL TO ESTABLISH AN APPROPRIATE SYSTEM REGULATING THE EXPORT AND IMPORT OF ARMAMENTS, TO TAKE EFFECT AFTER THE EXCHANGE OF MILITARY BLUEPRINTS.

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